

IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS OF POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY ON "GERBANG HEBAT" PROGRAM IN SEMARANG CITY "Transition from Reduction to Eradication of Poverty"

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IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS OF POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY ON "GERBANG HEBAT" PROGRAM IN SEMARANG CITY "Transition from Reduction to Eradication of Poverty"

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Abstract

This study examines the efforts of poverty and unemployment countermeasure in Semarang City called the Gerbang Hebat Program. The program has been problematic since the formulation stage of the policy that reflects the legislative domination to the executive, and procedural conflicts due to excessive central government regulation, so that it undergoes stagnation and ineffectiveness at the implementation stage.

This study is an exploratory research that uses a qualitative approach with a critical theory paradigm to provide a practical explanation of what needs to be done in the process of transformational change from the existing condition to the expected condition in terms of the interests of social actors who are become the subject of theory.

The results of the research show that: (1) The Gerbang Hebat Program can not achieve integration because of the Parliament domination and the of the Central Government's regulationshacksles that reduces the space for the Semarang municipality in countermeasuring the poverty; (2) The obstacles encountered include: weak coordination and participation, symptoms of isomorphism, and conflict-related resistance.

Background

The poverty which is discussed in the media and policy forums is often seen as a static concept, where a group of people are permanently categorized as the poor while the others do not so. Speaking of poverty, the question instantly arises: why in society there are people or groups who never been poor forever, felt to be poor or poorer than ever, repeated poor or poor forever. In the past, there are evidences that the static concept views poverty as merely a matter of low or the absence income because of unemployment

(Lister, 2005), while the underlying factors of why a person is low-income or absence of income has out of attention. It affects approaches and interventions that usually do not touch the root causes of poverty and/or unemployment so that the results are less effective in tackling poverty and unemployment.

The ineffectiveness of poverty countermeasure in Indonesia is seen in the Central Bureau of Statistics Report (BPS 2016) as the following:

:

Table 1. The Effectiveness of Poverty Countermeasure in Indonesia within 2012-2015 Perode

variable	2012	2013	2014	2015
The number of poor (in million people)	28.59	28.55	27.73	28.51
Relational Poverty (% of population)	11.66	11.47	10.96	11,13
The Gini Index	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.40

Source: BPS, 2016

In the period of 2013 - 2014 there was only an average decrease in the number of poor people by 430,000 (1.5%) from the initial condition of 28.59 million in 2012. In 2014 to

2015 the number of poor people Increased by 270,000 people (0 , 99%) from the previous condition of 27.73 million in 2014. The Gini index as an indicator of inequality stays at 12:41

during 2012-2014, and declined to 0.40 by 2015 (CBS, 2016 - Indonesia). Compared to the city of Semarang in the period 2013 to 2015, there is a decrease in poverty rate of 0.64% from 2013 figure of 21.49% to 20.85% in 2015 (Bappeda Semarang - SIMGAKIN, 2016). The figures show two things: **firstly**, the poverty countermeasure efforts at national and local levels are less effective as seen from the low poverty rate of 1.5% for the national level and only 0.64% for the city of Semarang; **secondly**, in fact, poverty is not static but dynamic as it is seen on the fluctuation of national poverty rate decline from 1.5% between 2013 – 2014, but increased again to 0.99% within 2014 – 2015.

Various poverty and unemployment countermeasure programs are undertaken by central and regional Governments with various labels, concepts and orientations. There is nothing wrong with these programs, but they contain some major weaknesses: partial, short-term, unintegrated with markets, and overlapping so that unsustainable as they do not basis of economic infrastructure. The result of Peter McCawley's study, is stating that the Indonesian Government should indeed improve the poverty countermeasure programs that are more realistic, solid and integrated (Peter McCawley, ASPI, 2014: 25). There is strong empirical evidence that unemployment increases the risk of poverty and contributes significantly to inequality and weakens the social resilience of individuals/Heads of Households, family members and communities.

In 2016, Semarang city Launched the Poverty and Unemployment Countermeasure Program namely "Gerbang Hebat Program". "The Gerbang Hebat" is an abbreviation of the Joint Movement for Poverty and Unemployment Countermeasure through Harmonization of Economic, Education, Ecosystems, and Communal Ethos. The program was launched as an intervention response that addressed to the ineffectiveness of previous poverty countermeasure efforts due to weak coordination, concept and orientation. The Gerbang Hebat program emphasizes on the importance of harmonization of four aspects:

economics, education, ecosystems and ethos. The fact shows that harmonization alone is not enough, but far more important than that is "integration". Poverty and unemployment is a multi-dimensional, complex, and paradoxical problem that is unclear both the cause and the solution, and is unlikely to be solved by itself (wicked problem), so it requires cross-sector cooperation of multi-stakeholder and actors. Cooperation can occur in a continuum ranging from the simplest term, namely: network - coordination - cooperation - collaboration. Whichever form of cooperation is chosen, it must provide an intermediate result in the form of "integration". Moving From 2006 until now, integration has become a prerequisite for the success of a policy, strategy, planning or implementation of the program, so the World Bank calls it the "Integration Era" the which is remarked by: (1) the existence of "networking" within the government; (2) private entry into the network; and (3) of continuous innovation in the field of public services (World Bank Report, 2014). Market oriented growth intervention is needed as a leverage to reach the welfare (Peter Saunders, 2002).

Globalization raises two phenomena, namely: interconnection with borderless relationship and interdependence so that all people around the world are united in a new world order that is called "economic global society". The main effects of globalization are: (1) Internationalization of production; (2) free trade; and (3) Direct international investment in the stock market. This condition raises the necessity that any intervention to tackle poverty, imbalances and unemployment should be directed at increasing market-oriented economic growth. Efforts to increase the economic growth is done by creating and filling market opportunities through three domains, namely: (1) production; (2) trading; and (3) investment.

On the other hand, globalization engenders some changes which are: very fast / volatile; contains uncertainty; complex; and ambiguous. These changes require continuous adaptation and innovation that can only be done through research and development.

The results of development that could be achieved through economic growth need to be distributed equally and proportionally to realize prosperity. The strategic environment changes in the globalization era led to a multi-stakeholder and cross-sector cooperation and integration are becoming a global trend as well as the need to tackle poverty, inequality and unemployment to realize prosperity and welfare, equity, and the full employment in the future. All of them are the concrete description of the expected condition that supposed to be the vision and target of development.

Formulation of Problems and Research Objectives

The efforts to overcome poverty and unemployment in the city of Semarang that carries the vision of harmonizing the movement with the community on four aspects: economic, education, ecosystem and ethos with the label "HEBAT" become the reason for researchers to examine and analyze about:

1. To what extent is the Gerbang Hebat Program able to achieve integration at the planning and implementation level in tackling poverty and unemployment in the city of Semarang?
2. What are the weaknesses and obstacles faced in planning and implementing of Gerbang Hebat Program?
3. How is the comprehensive, concept of Poverty inequality and unemployment countermeasure in the city of Semarang?

Research methods

This research is an exploratory study that aims to explore and analyze about: "what should" be changed, planned and implemented to realize the achieved goals in the context of poverty and unemployment countermeasure in the city of Semarang. This study uses a qualitative approach with a critical theory paradigm to uncover phenomena and / or false realities that is hidden behind the observed empirical facts. The paradigm of critical theory also provides explanation but not in the context of causal relationships such as the science tradition in the positivist paradigm, but practical

explanation of what needs to be done in the process of transformational change from the initial state (existing condition) to the expected condition reviewed from the interest of social actors who become the subject of the theory (Horkheimer in Bohman, 2005: 1; Kelner, 1990: 22; Little John, 2005: 22). The research strategy used is a case study because of the uniqueness / specificity of the studied object, and its flexibility in cross-paradigm and approach. Interpretation of the data were using anticipatory or futuristic interpretation methods to find a comprehensive, concept of poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasure that could be applied in the future. The unit of analysis in this research are: implementation of the policy of poverty and unemployment countermeasure in Semarang city at management and technical level.

Library Review

1. Poverty Theory

a. Poverty and Vulnerability

In practice there is always a large-scale and wide-ranging multi-dimensional problem that can not be handled on its own, but must involve cooperation between agencies or between ministries / institutions. Problems like this require cooperation with other ministries/ agencies. The examples of such problem areas follows: poverty, inequality and unemployment. The dynamics of poverty in developed and developing or underdeveloped countries are different so that the definitions and concepts of absolute and relative poverty are varied. The 1995 United Nations Summit that were Followed by 117 countries have agreed on the definition of absolute and relative poverty, and Formulated¹⁰ declarations and action programs to eradicate absolute poverty by 2015 and reduce all forms of poverty up to half as outlined in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Definitions of poverty, including absolute poverty is:

"Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; Increased morbidity and mortality from illness; Homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life. It Occurs in all countries: as mass poverty in many developing countries, pockets of poverty amid wealth in developed countries, loss of livelihoods as a result of economic recession, sudden poverty as a result of disaster or conflict, the poverty of low-wage workers, and the utter destitution of people who fall outside family support systems, special institutions and safety nets" (UN, 1995 in David Gordon, 2002: 3).

Based on the results of empirical research on the dynamics of poverty, poverty could be classified in three types, namely: (1) Persistent poverty: poverty that lasts for a long time; (2) Recurrent poverty: repeatedly exits and falls back into poverty; and (3) Transient poverty: poverty that lasts for a very short time (Smith and Middleton, 2007).

According to Amartya Kumar Sen (1999 in Katherine McJackson, 2005), the Nobel laureate for economics who pursues many Poverty countmeasure programs in developing countries, "poverty is defined as a condition of deprivation of basic capability and freedom, rather than low income that is generally used as a standard in identifying poverty". The limitations of this capability are related to the seizure and / or some barriers due to gender, age, race or class or other cause of marginalization. The provisions of the Employees Service Company (PPJK) accepting only workers

aged 18-24 years, constitute the deprivation of basic capability and freedom of labor over the age of 24 to enter the employment field.

Such practices hamper clearly efforts to reduce poverty through equal employment opportunities and potentially increase the number of new poor people. Lower wage of the outsourced workers under the City Minimum Wage also make it difficult to countermeasure poverty. Sen identifies five elements of freedom that are key factors for development, namely: (i) political freedom; (ii) economic opportunities; (iii) social opportunities; (iv) the guarantee of transparency; and (v) security protection. This argument breaks the previous concept of income focused poverty reduction as a measure of poverty and social well-being (Amartya Kumar Sen in Katherine McJackson, 2005: 9-12).

This new understanding of poverty led to the creation of the Livelihood Security Approach (LSA) concept. The LSA promotes the importance of putting people at the center of development. The LSA emphasizes gender mainstreaming and "personal/individual empowerment" in the development process, where people are more likely to "fish" rather than "fish given", aiming for everyone to be self-sufficient. Personal empowerment is the empowerment of each individual or individuals that must be distinguished from the social empowerment of a particular community. Personal empowerment Provides the basis for the rights-based individual demands of the political system that leads to the deprivation of opportunity, at the same time focuses the individual social empowerment's demand on social processes (more collectively) to alter the shape and direction of systemic forces that marginalize people. Social empowerment will change the basis of power relations

(Vane Klasen, 2002 in Katherine M. McJackson).

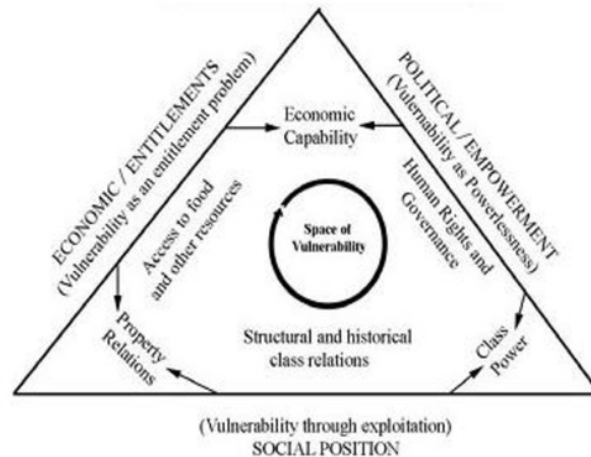
The dynamics of poverty are closely related to the phenomenon of vulnerability. Vulnerability is understood as a situation in which the livelihood system of a person is vulnerable to shock, along with the lack of endurance/resilience against shock so that the related person could not be self recovered. Vulnerability affects the livelihoods that cause them to be poor and the severity of poverty. Shocks can impoverish a person and his family (sickness, death or job termination) or can impoverish a community in an area (natural disasters,

macroeconomic crises such as in 1997 and 2008). The pattern of power relation based social interaction can lead to shocks or pressures that cause people to become vulnerable or impoverished.

Frankenberger and Maxwell (2002) stated that vulnerability is not merely caused by social – economic process, but also by political process where the power relation between individu and group affects the extentof vulnerability direct or indirectly.

According to Vane Klasen (2002) in Katherine M.McJackson (2005), the dimensions of vulnerability can be described as follows:

Figure1. Vulnerability Dimensions According to Vane Klassen (2002)



(Adapted from Watts and Bohle, 1993)

Source: Adopted from Walts & Bohle (1993)

In short, poverty not only reflects the non-fulfillment of basic needs and lack of access, but also illustrates the weak political power and the powerlessness of the vulnerable groups. Furthermore, powerlessness by itself will result in a lack of access and inability to meet basic needs, that puts the vulnerable groups at a lame position in the lowest classes of the social strata. "Basic needs" and "equity" are key factors that determine the increase or decrease in poverty, inequality and unemployment.

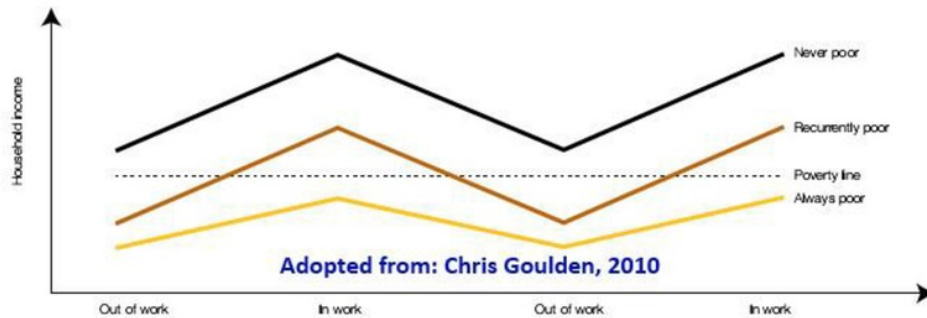
a. Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

The past research results classify poverty into several types: never poor, transient poverty, recurrent poverty, and persistent poverty. In those research results could be found the fact of gaps in the causes and dynamics of recurrent poverty which are still debated (Smith and Middleton, 2007). There is some empirical evidences showing that

poverty recurrent cycles correlate with earnings cycles, and employment status: "unemployed and/or working at low

wage/salary levels" that can be could be described as follows (Alderman et al. 2003):

Figure 2. Revenue Cycle Relationships, Employment Status, and Poverty



There are four types of relationships between employment status and poverty as illustrated in the following table:

Table 2. Relationship of Employment Status Variant to Poverty

STATUS OF POVERTY	STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT	
	DOES NOT WORK	WORK
POOR	(1) Not working and being poor	(2) Working but still poor
NOT POOR	(3) Not working but not poor	(4) working and not poor

Source: Peter Saunders, 2002

Cell (1) describes the condition that status does not work directly causing the individual to become poor. Cell (2) describes the situation that even if the individual does not work but does not poor, because he/she gets a shared income from family members. Cells (3) describe the circumstances of individuals working at low or under-standard salaries/ wages, unpredictable, part-time or discontinuing work. Cell (4) describes an individual working in a secure position (full-time job, salary or income level more than adequate, stable with a clear career path). The inequality between the number of available job vacancies and the number of productive workforces that require occupationis being the direct cause of unemployment, while the inequality between the

competency levels required to fill certain types of work with the competencies of the prospective workers is an indirect cause of structural unemployment. Two examples of inequality are indirect causes of poverty due to unemployment and vice versa. Unemployment has a very strong correlation with poverty, especially in cases where the duration of unemployment is more than one year. In this position, the risks of unemployment causes poverty to increase significantly.

At the practical level, there are a number of factors that have a significant effect on low wages, work insecurity, and recurrent poverty risk

1) Determinant factors of work insecurity and low wage / salary

Determinants of work insecurity and low wages/salaries consist of several factors that include: (a) Supply of labor; (2) production

factors; (3) Cost Pressure; (4) Fluctuation of needs; (5) Organizational ethos, objectives and ownership; and (6) the Employment Act.

Figure 3. Determinant Factors of Work Insecurity, Low Wage / Salary and Recurrent Poverty Cycle



Source: Metcalf and Dhudwar (2010).

1) Risk Factors of Recurrent Poverty

Factors that can increase or decrease the risk of poverty can be seen in the following table:

Table 3. Recurrent Poverty Risk Factors (Recurrent Poverty)

RISK FACTORS	RISK OF POVERTY RELATED	INFLUENCE STRENGTH
Employment in the core	Down	Very strong
Employment in the middle sector	Down	Very strong
Employment in the peripheral sectors	Down	Strong
Employment of Midwives or techniques	Down	moderate
Working alone (permanently)	Down	moderate
professional Employment	Down	moderate
Higher Education	Down	less strong
Administration	Down	less strong
Trading / marketing skilled	Down	less strong
Age 25-34 years	Down	Weak
Divorced	Up	moderate
single parent	Up	moderate

Having a child	up	Weak
Chronic illness or permanent disability	up	Very strong
Job Termination	up	Very strong
Not working full or part time	up	Strong
Not working / unemployed	up	Very strong
Previously been unemployed long	up	Strong
Excessive regulation	up	Very strong

Source: Chris Goulden 2010

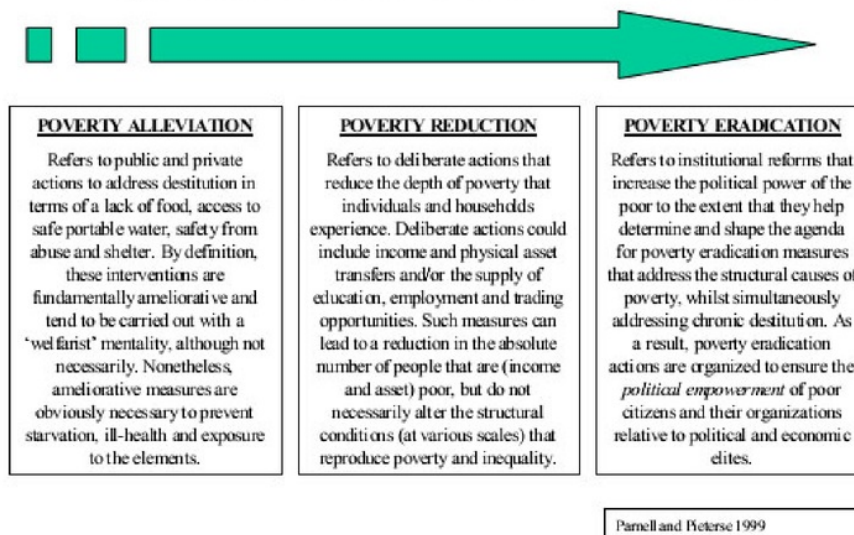
a. Shifting of Poverty Theory

Evolution of poverty theory and development has been ongoing for 50 years. In its development, the poverty theory has shifted on its focus. Speaking about development will usher thoughts on a question: development for what purpose? and development for whom? With regard to the development goals, then various theories and concepts of the existing development can answer that question easily, that the development aims to realize the economic and social welfare through economic growth. The problem becomes difficult when

answering the question: of development is for whom?, because in reality it turns out marginalizing the majority of people towards poverty. Development puts vulnerable groups on the polarization of societies/countries of the southern hemisphere (the poor) where the "shortage" of freedom and access to assets, opportunities and prosperity being accumulated. On the opposite hemisphere at the North (the rich), the accumulation of "excess" of asset and welfare is taken place. In the perspective of power relations, then the middle class can enjoy the prosperity and well-being as an intermediate player that perform the intermediation functions between the elite class and the lower class.

Theories of poverty is intended to produce the concept of an effort to reduce the negative impact of development that impoverishes most of the human being. In its development, those of theories have underwent three stages of focus shift as follows: the first stage focused on mitigation or alleviate the effects of poverty (Poverty Alleviation); The second phase focused on the reduction of poverty (Poverty Reduction); and the third phase focused on the eradication of poverty (Poverty Eradication). The development focus of poverty theory could be illustrated as a continuum of the mitigation process towards eradication.

Figure 4. Transformation from Alleviation Towards eradication



Based on a new conception of poverty, the poverty countermeasure effort could be done by combining technical and social solutions in three areas as follows:

1) Fixing social position

SOCIAL POSITION includes dimensions

- a) Justice: age, gender, race / ethnicity, religion / belief
- b) Human Rights
- c) Distribution of capital and assets
- d) Social inclusion
- e) Organizational capacity

2) Improving the human conditions and well being

HUMAN CONDITION and Well Being includes dimensions:

- a) Productivity, livelihoods and incomes
- b) The accumulation of capital and assets
- c) human capability
- d) Access to markets, resources and public services
- e) Risk and vulnerability

3) **Creating an environment or conditions of empowerment**

Empowering Environment includes dimensions:

- a) Government based on the principles of good governance
- b) Participation of civil society
- c) Social protection assistance
- d) The regulatory framework of domestic and international justice

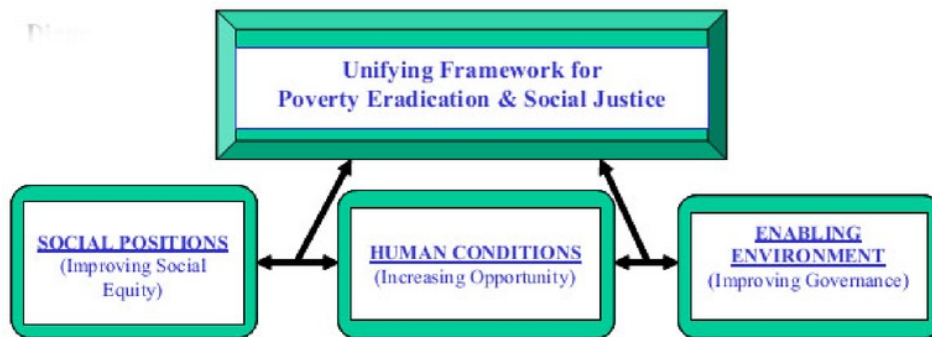
e) Preservation and conservation of the environment

f) Strong and equitable Economy Politics platform

g) Human protection and conflict management

Conceptual framework of unification of poverty eradication could be described as follows:

Figure 5. Unification Framework-of Social JusticeBased Poverty Eradication



Adapted from: M. Ctherine McCaston et al., CARE, 2005

Results and Analysis

1. The Implementation of Gerbang Hebat Program

Gerbang Hebat Program is a product of poverty and unemployment countermeasure policies in the city of Semarang. This program is a response to the reality of poverty countermeasure that is considered less effective because: (1) the average rate of poverty reduction was 0.64% per year during 2013-2015 due to lack of coordination; (2) the bias and less on target due to data inaccuracy of Central Statistical Body which is more oriented to the central government programs. The situation was anticipated by conducting its own data collection on poor families once every two years as stipulated in the Local Regulation No. 12 Year 2016 on Poverty Countermeasure in Semarang City. The programs implemented by involving the private sector which includes: state, enterprises, and companies which are incorporated in the Community Development

Partnership Program Forum (PKBL) as a form of corporate social responsibility. PKBL is based on the determination of the Semarang City Local Regulation No. 7 of 2015 on the Partnership Program and Community Development As Corporate Social Responsibility in Semarang. Implementation of the Partnership is regulated by the Mayor of Semarang Number 26 Year 2016 on Operations Manual of Local Regulation No. 7/2015. Data collection on poor families implemented by Development Planning and Implementation Body (Bappeda) of Semarang municipality because judged to have the highest coordination functions with various related local government institutions.

Based on those above things, in June 2016 the Semarang municipality launched GERBANG HEBAT program to tackle poverty and unemployment through four strategies, namely: (1) social assistance based programs; (2) the development of micro, small and medium business; (3) community empowerment; and (4)

pro-people support program. Implementation of the program by all relevant local government institutions coordinated under one roof institution, namely: "Local Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team (TKPKD)" chaired by the Mayor Deputy and as the person in charge is the mayor. TKPKD formation based on the Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2010 on Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team (TKPK) for Provincial and Regency /City level.

Viewed from the perspective of public policy implementation analysis, the formulation and implementation of poverty countermeasure policies in the form of Gerbang Hebat Program meets the criteria of policy implementation of Classical Model Analysis with the following proposition:

a. Policy formulation and implementation are two bounded processes by regulation, separately and consecutively (sequential). Poverty countermeasure policies formulated and set it out first in the middle term development planning of Semarang city within 2016 – 2021 periode (RPJMD 2016 – 2021). RPJMD drawn up with input from all relevant local government institutions, which its program planning was made by Bappeda of Semarang City in the form Local Development Plan (RPD). Furthermore, the substances of RPD are implemented at the operational/technical level in the form of Local Development Work Plan (RKPD) for each local government institution .

b. There are clear and strict boundaries among others:

- 1) Strict separation of the functions, roles and division of tasks between policy makers (Mayor) who designed and set goals with a policy implementor (Mayor Deputy) who implement policy at the practical/operational level.
- 2) Policymakers (Mayor) has the authority to formulate and set policies based on development priorities, while the implementor (Mayor Deputy) has the technical capability to implement

policies, obedience and willingness to implement policies (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980: 10 in Marume SBM et al., 2016 : 87-88).

- 3) Decisions on policy implementation are always technical and non-political

4) The legislature (DPRD) has a dominant role to control the entire process of conceptualization and formulation of policy, so that the executive (mayor) more likely to become an instrument/ policy maker institution who has the authority to make policies. This was seen from the fact that the poverty and unemployment countermeasure policy is based on two local regulation, they are: Local Regulation No. 7/2015 and 12/2016, while the Mayor's Regulation No. 26/2016 as the guidelines of local regulation No.12 / 2017. In this context, the Mayor simply as instrument/ tool to implement the PKBL policy that was formulated by the Parliament Semarang City. The same thing happened to Regulation No. 7/2015 where the Bappeda of Semarang municipality was appointed by the Parliament to carry out data collection of poor people. The mayor with his bureaucratic rows become the administrative instrument to implement the policy which was formulated by the parliament of Semarang City (Cloete, 1977 in Marume S.B.M. et al., 2016, 97-88).

Formulation and implementation of poverty countermeasure policies as described above represents the top - down approach with waterfall system, that is similar to the approach used in classical analysis model. Classical analysis model considers that the policy is something that "made (given)", it is considered right and proper so that it becomes indisputable. The analytical function is directed to explain; what is the "right" or "wrong" in the implementation process, and who should be responsible for that.

This model contains bias that comes from unilateral perspective about the truth of conceptualization and process of policy formulation. This perspective leaves no possibility to make a policy analysis. If the program is not running well, then errors will be imposed on the implementation process which becomes the responsibility of the implementor. These conditions engender "blaming mentality" which obscures the actual reality of the policy and its implementation.

Conflict on Poverty and Unemployment Countermeasure in Semarang City

There is indication of conflict on poverty and unemployment countermeasure in the city of Semarang. There are at least two conflicts could be clearly observed through this study, they are:

a. Conflicts of Interest

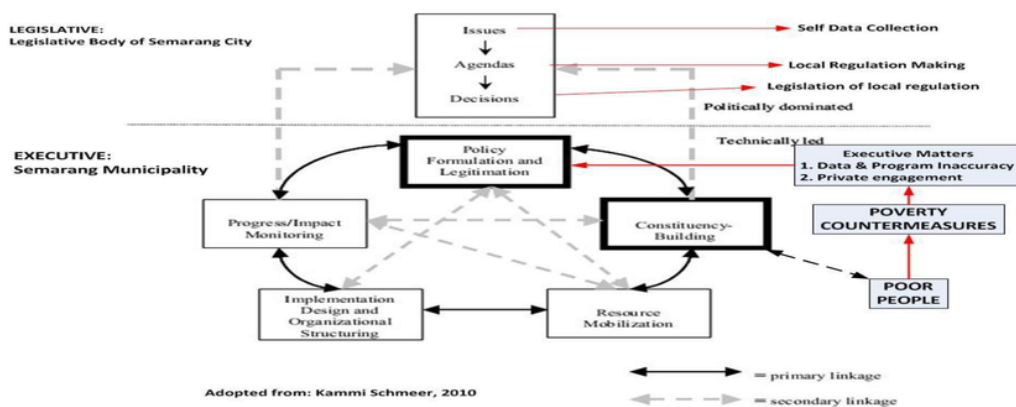
The discharge of Local Regulation No. 7/2015 on Poverty Countermeasure in Semarang City, in particular article 5 clause (1) that says, "the Local Government collects data and assigns the poor people", is a representation of a conflict of interest between the parliament and Semarang municipality with the Central Statistics Agency (BPS). Data collection affairs of poor people is the main task and function of Central Statistic Agency which has authority, budget, infrastructure and resources to conduct a census or survey. The fact that the data of poor people from BPS are considered so biased that resulting

poverty countermeasure effort became misdirected, not necessarily to be responded by Parliament and / or Semarang municipality with the act of making the local regulation to conduct their own data collection. Bias always happens and unavoidable at all in a survey, but it could be minimalized to accepted limit standard of errors. If the BPS data is considered inaccurate because the approach or the use of indicators is not appropriate, it could be coordinated back with BPS in order to synchronize and integrate data collection process with the local conditions Semarang City. The dualism of poor people data from BPS and Semarang municipality, besides confusing for decision making process, it also poses wasteful spending that should not supposed to be.

The fact that local regulation No. 7/2016 created at the initiative of the Parliament, representing its to regulate technical matter like "data collection of the poor people" is really out of scope of task and functions. Poor people are the potential political constituent for collecting political support. This reason encouraged the Parliament to enter the Semarang municipality domain in formulating technical policy. This reality confirms the proposition of the classical analysis method that the legislature becomes dominant actor in the process of policy making for poverty countermeasure.

The domination of legislature to the executive (Semarang municipality) could be described as follows:

Figure 6. The Domination of Local Parliament to Semarang Municipality in Poverty Countermeasure Program



b. Procedural conflict

Article 23 clause (2) Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42 Year 2010 on Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team (TKPK) at Provincial and District/ Municipal level mentions that the person in charge for TKPK is the Mayor of Semarang City, Mayor while the chairman is the Mayor Deputy. This regulation has caused procedural conflict between the Mayor and his Deputy. Technically TKPK is led by mayor deputy, but politically the responsibility for the success or failure of program implementation lies on the Mayor. This poses a political and irrational trap and detrimental to the Mayor, because he/she must be responsible if there are errors or failures in policy implementation. On one side, such a condition would urge the Mayor to intervene in order to secure its responsibility. If the policy implementation is judged to diverge or feared to be fail. On the other hand, the intervention of the Mayor will lead to dualism of leadership that could hinder harmonization and / or coordination which is supposed to be realized through the establishment of TKPKD for achieving integration.

The existence of procedural conflict and Mayor intervention has occurred in the city of Semarang, where the mayor ordered to give grants to each Thematic Village Program in amount Rp. 200.000.000, - (two hundred million rupiahs) to accelerate the process of poverty and unemployment countermeasure in order to achieve the expected results. Although the mayor could not be blamed because it is the logical consequence of the procedural conflict arising from over-regulation on political, management and technical affairs which becomes his authority, but it could not be denied that the intervention has weakened the coordination which would be built, blurring the concept of policy implementation, and inflicting the substitution of original purposes with technical/operational goal that is partial, short-term and not results-oriented. Technically, manifestation of goal substitution was seen on the training activity for making the key holder. In this context, the poverty reduction goal was replaced by the training goal. Excessive regulation directly affects the work

insecurity, low, wages / salaries recurrent poverty cycle is repeated (see figure 3), as well as strongly influencing the increase of poverty risk (see table 3).

Institutional pressures on Semarang Municipality

Semarang municipality, in this case the Mayor and his ranks of bureaucracy had three forms of institutional pressures in implementing poverty and unemployment countermeasure policies. Those three forms of pressures are: (1) Coercive Pressure; (2) Normative Pressure; and Mimetic Pressure. Coercive pressure is a coercion that must be implemented because it comes from regulatory legislation or compelling external conditions, for example, natural disaster or technological changes. Normative pressure is a requirement for the institutions to behave according to the moral, ethical, professional, and social norms in order to avoid social conflict and resistance. Mimetic pressures are encouragement for the institution to behave aligned, same, similar or uniform with environmental organizations to avoid uncertainty. All those three forms of pressures engender isomorphism symptoms on each organization, with no exception for Semarang municipality. Isomorphism is a symptom of uniformity of structure, procedures and practices in order to survive by reducing uncertainty "(DiMaggio, 1983; Powell, 1991 in Samairat, Mohammed, 2008: 12).

In the context of this study, the Semarang municipality is experiencing very strong coercive pressure that comes from the central government and local Parliament regulation among others: Local regulation No. 20/2015, Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42/2010, Mayor's Regulation No. 12/2016, and Local Regulation No. 7/2015. The organizational responses to the three types of pressures, among others: (1) Acquiescence; (2) compromise; (3) avoidance; (4) defiance; and (5) Manipulation (Oliver, 1991: 170). The strong coercive pressure from legislation encouraged Semarang municipality was responded by acquiescing in order to seek legitimacy, avoid conflicts with Parliament, as well as

reducing uncertainty. In this case, the isomorphism symptoms of Semarang municipality are clearly visible when approving the Parliament initiative to do their own data collection of poor people in Semarang City..

2. Weakness of Poverty and Unemployment Countermeasure Policy and the Obstacles of Gerbang Hebat Program Implementation

The research results summary on the weaknesses and constraints of Gerbang Hebat program implementation are as follows:

Table 4 Weaknesses Poverty Reduction Policies and Unemployment

No.	WEAKNESS	DESCRIPTION
1	Policy	Excessive regulation, not outcome oriented yet, weak poverty conception due to static conception of poverty, has not been focused yet on efforts to reduce the inequality which weaken the resilience of political, economic and social of poor people and productive labor force. The policy has not focused yet to relevant activities of production, trade and investment to create and fulfill a new economic growth opportunities. Top-down approach was still used in the policy formulation, whereas it was not in accordance with the volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity of the problems and challenges which are faced by. The problem complexity of poverty, inequality and unemployment requires a bottom-up approach both in the formulation and implementation of policy by involving cross sector multiple stakeholders and actors
2	Stakeholder Engagement	Stakeholders were involved only in the planning and implementation of the program, and have not been involved yet in the policy making stage. This was inflicting to unclearly understood policy so that the level of support and contribution remains low. The level of participation and contribution of stakeholders could be measured by assessing on how much the contribution percentage of CSR funds to finance a total of efforts for countermeasuring poverty and unemployment. Low contribution of CSR funds indicates low support and participation of stakeholders.
No.	WEAKNESS	DESCRIPTION
3	Conception of Poverty	Poverty countermeasure policy is something given so that its formulations follows common practices which occurs in the environment of the Central Government and Provincial Government (isomorphism symptoms). Such practices weakens the conceptualization of policies that are not based on the clear concept and framework with measurable indicators. Although there has been innovation by integrating poverty and unemployment countermeasure in one package, but it was done only on the basis of practical experience alone without supported by knowledge management as set forth in Regulation of Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment - Bureaucratic Reformation No. 14 Year 2014, so that only produce technical concept based on short-term projects, and have not been able yet to penetrate the substance of policy.
4	GERBANG HEBAT Vision	GERBANG HEBAT vision is an acronym of a collection of phrases that describe a process, and does not describe the imaginative outcome or expected condition in the future. The series of phrases too long, so elusive that difficult to be conceived and communicated. This vision has weaknesses or ineffective in their ability to inspire, raise awareness, mobilize participation, build consensus and commitment. Effective vision must meet the following requirements: clarity of purpose, imaginatively associated with the future achieved outcome, a short, clear and simple so as easily understood, imagined and communicated, could be attained. Effectiveness of a vision could be measured by the percentage of stakeholders, actors and people who understand, arisen awareness, inspired and motivated to engage and participate.
Sources: Processed Primary Data, 2017		

Table 5. Obstacles of Gerbang Hebat Program Implementation

No.	OBSTACLES	DESCRIPTION
1	Coordination	Coordination which will be realized through the establishment of TKPKD institutions as stipulated in the Regulation of Minister of Internal Affairs No. 42/2010, has not been realized yet because it is constrained by procedural conflicts arising from the provisions of Article 23 clause (2) that separating the functions and roles of the Mayor who is politically in charge and Mayor Deputy as Chairman of TKPKD who is technically in charge.. The procedural conflict not only weaken the coordination that will be built for, even cause resistance to the implementation of the program. In fact, the vertical and horizontal coordination is still weak because it has not reached the functional integration yet that supposed to be achieved. Cooperation in any form (Networks - Coordination - Cooperation - Collaboration) should be able to produce integration as an intermediate outcome. The absence of integration as demonstrated by the fact that the four pillars of the strategy are being implemented separately without any connection each other, indicates weak coordination. If this condition is not corrected, then at the end of program implementation will be threatened by failure.
2	symptoms isomorphism	Isomorphism symptoms that occurs in Semarang municipality organizations inhibit the emergence of creative and innovative thinking which is needed for overcoming the limitations authority of budgets, regulations, and capacity. Such limitation should be overcome by creating new opportunities in order to face the increasingly complex challenges and reducing uncertainty. Interest conflict between BPS with municipality and/or parliament of Semarang city on data collection of the poor people, as well as the leadership dualism conflict between the Mayor and his/her Deputy in TKPKD, should not be the case if these leaders think and act in a creative and innovative manner beyond common practice (out of the box).

Sources: Primary data are processed, 2017

No.	OBSTACLES	DESCRIPTION
3	Participation	Participation of stakeholders, actors, communities, and citizens who were being targeted by the programs are more transactional than transformational. It means that people are willing to participate if the carried out activities do not impose costs, have a direct and short term benefit, and can increase the extent income and consumption. The formed perceptions on the targeted citizens were more determined by the value of project aid than the outcome which supposed to be achieved in the future. Such condition produces a weak level of participation because it was based on social exchange processes at the costs and benefit ratio basis.
4	Resistance	In the context of the Rainbow Village (Kampung Pelangi), emerging resistance derived from the question: (1) who should bear the cost of repainting for continuous maintenance, and (2) what the economic benefits of the rainbow village, beyond the concept of the imposed beauty. The aesthetics which was offered through the concept of the rainbow village by painting the road and the outer walls of the resident's houses, perceived as a sensation of "different or strange" rather than "beautiful". If the rainbow concept was presented through a combination arrangement of colorful decorative plants to form an artistic landscape, then the intention to bring the aesthetics will be more successful and enable to form a "sense of place" that must be owned by a city. Each village could be set with different theme according to the type of dressing plant. In addition to the aesthetic and artistic, plant decorated landscape could be new economic opportunities in the production of decorative plants and landscaping services, as well as a lung for the green city. The central question for the rainbow village is: Until when painting the road and walls of houses will last, reckoning that will require continuous maintenance..

Sources: Processed Primary Data, 2017

3. The concept of Comprehensive Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

Drafting a poverty countermeasure should consider the development of a strategic

environment that occurred after the end of the Millennium Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, one of whose objectives is to lower the level of poverty by half from the previous condition. Post-2015, there is a development

agenda and development objectives are as follows:

Table 6. Classification of Interest Based on Post-2015 Development Agenda and the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals

CLASSIFICATION PURPOSES	POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA	SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGs) POST-2015
Multidimensional poverty focused	1. eradicating poverty 2. Run to the empowerment of women and reaching gender equality 3. Providing qualified and sustainable education 4. Guaranteeing a healthy life 5. Ensuring food security and good nutrition 6. Achieving universal access to water and sanitation	1. Eradicating all forms of poverty where 2. Eradicating hunger, running food security, improving nutrition and promoting sustainable agriculture 3. Ensuring a healthy life and promote well being in all age groups 4. Ensuring inclusiveness and equality of education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all 5. Realizing gender equality and empowering women 6. Ensuring the availability and management of water and sanitation for all
Sustainable Development Focus	7. Securing new renewable energy 8. Creating jobs, sustainable livelihoods and equitable growth	7. Ensuring the affordability of access, reliable, and sustainable modern energy for all 8. Promoting inclusive and sustainable economic growth, decent, productive and full employment for all 9. Building a resilient infrastructure, promoting inclusive industrialization and encouraging continuous innovation. 10. Reducing inequality in-house and between countries 11. Making towns and settlements as a comfortable, secure, resilient and sustainable. 12. Ensuring sustainable patterns of consumption and production. 13. Undertaking urgent action to tackle climate change and its impact 14. Conserving utilization of the oceans, seas and marine resources for the sustainable development. 15. Protecting, restoring and promoting the sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, forest management, preventing desertification, preventing and reversing land degradation, and preventing the loss of early biodiversity.
Good Governance and Global Partnership Focus	9. Managing natural resources and assets in a sustainable manner 10. Ensuring a healthy life 11. Ensuring food security and good nutrition 12. Creating a conducive global environment and facilitate long-term financing	16. Promoting a peaceful society, giving access to justice for all, and building accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels 17. Strengthen the way of implementation and revitalizing global partnership.

Source: Qian Liu Qian, Lin Wang Xiao, 2015

Considering the agenda and goals of sustainable development as set forth in Table 6, it could be formulated a comprehensive concept

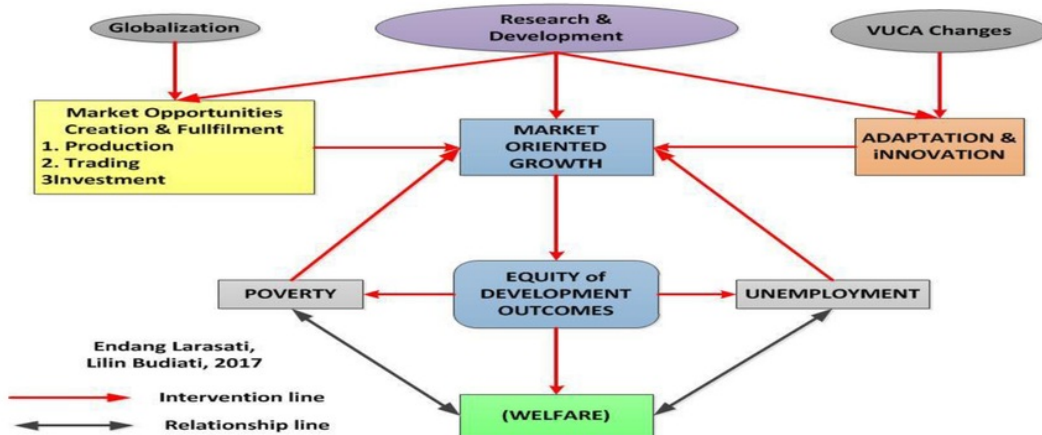
of poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasure are as follows:

Table 7. The concept of Comprehensive Poverty, Inequality and Sustainable Unemployment

NO.	SUBSTANCE	DESCRIPTION
1	Philosophy	Eliminating poverty for reaching prosperity and social justice based welfare
2	Aim	Eradicating all forms and types of poverty for all people wherever they are
3	Paradigm	Changing the paradigm of poverty reduction into the paradigm of poverty eradication
4	Principles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Integrating poverty eradication efforts become part of a sustainable development 2. The existence of Interconnection and synergy in all efforts for countermeasuring poverty, inequality and unemployment 3. All of poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasure efforts should be directed to the activities of production, trade and investment in the global market and /or the labor market. 4. Creating and fulfilling out new opportunities in the global economic market 5. Result or outcome oriented 6. Applying good governance principles at all levels 7. Empowerment and partiality to the vulnerable and affected groups 8. Partnership based multi-stakeholder and cross-sectoral cooperation. 9. Integration on policy formulation and implementation at all levels 10. Knowledge management and information systems of poverty
5	Target	All people
6	Policy	Policy formulation using a bottom-up approach, involving cross-sectoral multi-stakeholder in policy networks forum
7	Implementation	Applying bottom-up approach on policy making and implementation network and partnership based collaboration
8	Input	Resources, infrastructure, institutions, problems / issues of poverty, inequality and unemployment, data of the poor and unemployed people, opportunities and challenges
9	Process	Research, surveys, focus group discussions, workshops, data collection and implementation of policy making, planning, monitoring and evaluation
10	Output	Policies, strategies, action plans, work programs
11	outcome	Significant declines in poverty, Gini index, unemployment, increasing income generation and consumption, economic growth, improved quality of life, resilience of socio-economic and ecological, availability of employment opportunities (full employment)
12	Impact	Prosperity and welfare for all

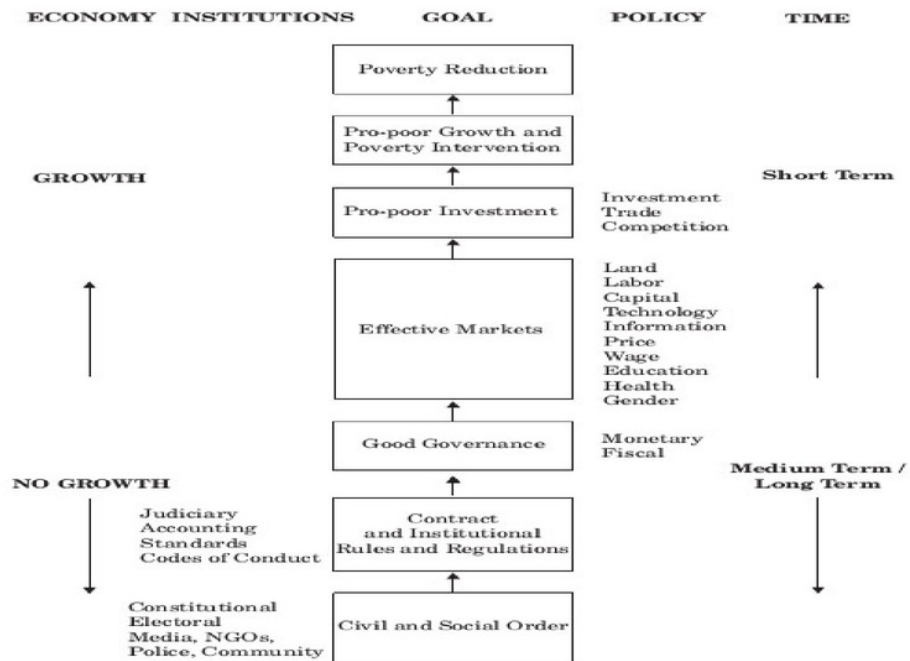
Integrative framework of intervention to countermeasure poverty and unemployment could be illustrated as the following:

Figure 6. Integrative Framework of Poverty Countermeasure



The integrative framework can be used to prepare priority setting for poverty countermeasure as the following:

Figure 7. Priority Setting Framework Poverty Countermeasure Efforts



Source: Ron Duncan and Steve Polard, 2002

Conclusions

Based on the research findings and analysis result, it could be concluded are as follows:

1. Integration of Gerbang HebatProgram implementation

Gerbang Hebat Program could not achieve integration yet, both at the level of policy making and implementation level, because of interest and procedural conflicts at the level of policy making due to the shackles of central government and parliament regulations, that reducing the space for the mayor of Semarang city to formulate poverty and unemployment countermeasure policy at the formal or discretionary authority basis.

2. Gerbang Hebat program has a number of weaknesses and problems of implementation, among others:

a. Gerbang Hebat program weaknesses include:

- 1) Over regulated, top-down, and not result oriented policy
- 2) Stakeholder involvement is limited at the program planning and implementation level only
- 3) Tweak conception of poverty and unemployment countermeasure because it was based common practices used in the central, Provincyl and regency/city government level.
- 4) Ineffective Gerbang Hebat vision so as does not understood, and unable for driving the engagement and participation of stakeholders, actors and citizens based on volunteerism

b. Constraints of Gerbang Hebat Program implementation include:

- 1) Weak coordination that fail to build through TKPKD institutions because existence of procedural conflicts arising from the provisions of Article 23 clause (2) Minister of Internal Affairs Regulation No. 42/2010 on Poverty Countermeasure Coordination Team at Provincial and Regency / City
- 2) Isomorphism symptoms that encouraging Semarang municipality behaves acquiescence in accordance to policies and regulations of the central government and parliament of Semarang city in order to seek legitimacy and reduce conflict and uncertainty.
- 3) Weak participation and more transactional than transformational, in the sense that participation is not voluntary basis, but based on social exchanges at cost – benefit ratio basis.
- 4) Resident's resistance both arising from vision obscurity and concept of Gerbang Hebat Program or Thematic Villages.

3. The concept of Comprehensive Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment Sustainable

Comprehensive concept of poverty, inequality and unemployment countermeasure could be seen in Table 7, while the integrative framework in Figure 6.

Suggestions

Based on some conclusions above, then it could be recommended some suggestions as the following:

1. To the Semarang Municipality

- a. Performing analysis and reorientation of policies to countermeasure poverty and unemployment in the city of Semarang.
- b. Conducting Focused Group Discussion (FGD) to identify the needs, issues,

opportunities and new challenges that develops in the external environment related to poverty, inequality and unemployment, in order to improve the policy and its implementation which are are threatened by stagnation or failure.

- c. Revising policies and conceptions of poverty, inequality and unemployment based on the results of FDG, which will adapted to the Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) post 2015.
- d. Correcting the vision of Gerbang Hebat Program so that being be more easily understood, communicated result oriented, attainable and measurable.
- e. Applying a bottom-up approach in the policy making for countermeasuring poverty and unemployment.
- f. Involving multiple stakeholders across sectors in the policy making process within policy network forum
- g. Streamlining coordination and performance TKPKD to achieve integration in the implementation of the program.
- h. Managing conflict and resistance in order not to hinder the implementation of the program.

2. To the Parliament of Semarang City

- a. Reviewing and / or revising the terms of Article 5 (1) Regulation No. 12/2016 on poor people data collection.
- b. Unplugging and/ or removing regulatory provisions that governing the technical-administrative matters under the authority of the Mayor, in order to avoid overlapping authority that hinder the movement of the Mayor for policy making.

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